

Col. Peter Force

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REPORT ON AUXILIARY RELATIONS.

SUBJOINED is the Report of the Committee on Auxiliary Relations, which is referred to in the Resolution of the Parent Society adopted at the last Annual Meeting, and published in page 36 of this volume. In conformity with that Resolution, copies of the Report have been forwarded to the New York City Colonization Society, the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, and the Maryland State Colonization Society, for their consideration and approval. The important changes which this paper proposes in the system on which the Parent Institution has heretofore administered its affairs, will attract the notice, as they deserve the serious and dispassionate reflection, of every friend of African Colonization. The high source from which the new plan has emanated, encourages the hope that its practical operation may be auspicious to the great cause which all Colonizationists have equally at heart, whatever differences of opinion may exist among them as to the expediency of particular measures.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1837.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.
GENTLEMEN:

The Select Committee appointed pursuant to the resolution of the General Meeting of the 15th day of December last, in their effort to adjust on an equitable and durable basis, the relations which should subsist between the Parent Society, its several Auxiliaries, and those State Societies which are more or less independent of both, found it necessary to look to the relative condition of the Colonies already planted in Africa.

The security, freedom, and happiness of the colonists obviously rest on union among themselves; and while they depend for their nutriment and growth on the exertions and resources of the American Societies to whom they owe their origin, their union in Africa presupposes the harmonious co-operation of their friends and patrons in America.

Accordingly, the Committee have framed a Constitution of

General Government for the various settlements of Liberia, with a view to a reunion of the American Societies engaged in the colonization of Africa.

In framing this Constitution they looked to the history of the first European settlements on this continent; and indulging the hope that the infant colonies of Africa may hereafter attain the strength and prosperity of the former, they have blended the features of some of the provincial governments, with those of the Articles of Confederation and of the present Constitution of the United States.

To assimilate the political institutions of a few settlements of slender resources, dispersed along the shore of a continent sunk in barbarism, to the present governments of the United States, must be the work of time.

It will be both hastened and facilitated, however, by keeping perpetually in view, the model to be copied, and conforming the copy to the original, in each stage of the future progress of African civilization.

Keeping this purpose ever before the friends of that continent, in America, the efforts of the various Colonization-Societies of the United States, to advance the improvement of the separate colonies which they have respectively planted, may be indulged, consistently with a due regard to the welfare of all. A laudable emulation at home, may, indeed, stimulate and guide to mutual advantage the same spirit abroad.

The Constitutions, therefore, and municipal laws of the separate Colonies, are left, by the Report, to the discretion of the colonists themselves, and of the American Societies, to whom they look for counsel and support; except so far as is necessary to their internal peace, their common defence, and their intercourse among themselves and with other nations.

The permanent union of the colonists as one people, and of their friends in America in consistent efforts for their prosperity, it has been the chief and anxious care of the Committee to establish and maintain.

Regarding the Constitution and Resolutions which they now transmit to the Board of Managers, as subjects of future amendment, they look to that source of improvement, as an adequate remedy for such defects of their Plan of Government as may be now apparent: and which time will assuredly multiply in political institutions, designed to be remodeled as experience may suggest, so as to accord with the gradual development of the moral and physical resources of a new empire.

In behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to subscribe myself, Gentlemen, with great respect, your ob't. Serv't.

C. F. MERCER, *Chairman.*

REPORT.

Resolved, by the American Colonization Society, That the following Constitution of General Government, for the American Settlements on the Western coast of Africa, be recommended to the adoption of the associated Auxiliary Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, and to the State

Colonization Society of Maryland; and that when the said Constitution shall have been approved by them and adopted by a majority of the inhabitants of those settlements, it shall be considered as conclusively ratified.

CONSTITUTION.

Whereas it has pleased a Gracious Providence to favour with success, the benevolent efforts of the citizens of the United States of America, to plant Christian Colonies of free coloured people, on the western coast of Africa, in order to lay a durable foundation for their future Union, Freedom and Independence, the following Constitution of Government is ordained and established.

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 1. The several colonial settlements planted in Liberia, on the principles of the American Colonization Society, are hereby declared to be united under one Government, to be styled the Government of Liberia.

Sec. 2. The Colony of Monrovia and the several Settlements appurtenant thereto, shall make one Colony, under the common title of "Monrovia;" the Colonies at Cape Palmas and Bassa Cove shall maintain their present denomination, or receive such other as the associated Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, and the Maryland State Society, may hereafter respectively bestow on them.

ARTICLE II. *Of the Legislative Power.*

Sec. 1. There shall be a Legislature, entitled the Congress of Liberia, which shall hold one session, at least, in every two years, at the town of Monrovia; or at such other place as the Congress shall from time to time appoint. The first meeting shall be held on the first Monday in December next following the ratification of this Constitution; and all succeeding meetings shall commence at such periods as the Congress may prescribe.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall consist of the Chief Executive Magistrate of each of the Colonies of Monrovia, Cape Palmas, and Bassa Cove, and of five Delegates, to be elected by the Legislative councils of the said Colonies in such manner as they may respectively provide, in the proportion of three for the Colony of Monrovia, and one for each of the other Colonies; and the said delegates shall receive for their services, such compensation as their respective councils may determine and pay.

Sec. 3. The Governor of Monrovia shall preside over the deliberations of the Congress; and in case of his absence, death, resignation, or inability, such one of the other Colonial Governors as a majority of the delegates present may elect. In the absence of those Governors, a President, for the time being, shall be, in like manner, chosen from the delegates present.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the President to call the members to order, and to preserve decorum in the debates and proceedings of Congress, according to such rules as they may adopt for their government. In his absence from the chair, for a period not exceeding one day, he may call on any other member to preside in his place. He shall be entitled to vote in all cases in which he is not personally interested, and shall, moreover, give

the casting vote whenever the Congress is equally divided on any question.

Sec. 5. The presence of a majority of all the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day till a quorum be formed, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of the absent delegates, in such manner, and in such penalties as the Congress may provide.

Sec. 6. The Congress shall be the sole judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of the several delegates thereto, may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly conduct; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a delegate: Shall keep a fair journal of its proceedings, and from time to time, publish the same; except such parts thereof as may, in their judgment, require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall by the desire of any two or more members be entered on the journal. They shall, by the first opportunity, transmit a copy of their entire journal to the American Colonization Society: they shall appoint a Recording Secretary and such other officers as may be necessary to the transaction of business and fix their respective compensation, which shall be paid by the several Colonies on a rateable assessment, according to their respective representation.

In all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, the delegates shall be privileged from arrest, during their attendance in Congress, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate therein, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Sec. 7. No person shall be chosen as a delegate from any Colony who shall be under twenty-five years of age at the period of his election; nor unless he be, at such period, a citizen of Liberia, and have been an inhabitant of the Colony for which he is elected, for at least six months prior to his election.

Sec. 8. Congress shall have power to prescribe uniform rules of naturalization for all persons of colour, provided that all persons now citizens of any Colony of Liberia, shall continue to be so, and that all coloured persons emigrating from the United States of America, or any district or territory thereof, with the approbation, or under the sanction of the American Colonization Society; or of any Auxiliary Society of the same, or of any State Colonization Society of the United States, which shall have assented to this Constitution of Government, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of Liberia; except the same shall have been lost or forfeited by conviction of some crime.

Sec. 9. They shall have power to fix the standard of weights and measures, until the Congress of the United States of America shall have prescribed some standard of the same, when the American, shall become the standard of Liberia.

Sec. 10. They shall have power to settle the value of any African money, in the metallic currency of Liberia, which currency shall, in all other respects, be the same with that of the United States.

Sec. 11. In time of war or insurrection, or of imminent danger thereof, they shall have power to emit bills and to borrow money on the credit of Liberia, under such restrictions and limitations as may be provided by the American Colonization Society: and at such times they shall have power to provide a treasury for the common defence, to appoint a treasurer and such other officers or agents as may be necessary to the collection and disbursements of the public money, no part of which shall be appropriated but by an act, or resolution of Congress: the treasury shall be supplied by a rateable assessment of such sums, as may be necessary, upon the several Colonies; which, until a more equitable mode can be provided, shall be in proportion to the number of delegates, in the Congress, elected by each Colony; such sums, to be assessed, collected, and paid by, or in pursuance of the acts, or orders of the respective Legislative Councils of the Colonies, and all expenses incurred for the common defence shall be chargeable upon and paid out of the said treasury.

Sec. 12. The Congress shall have power to declare war, in self-defence, and make rules concerning captures on land and water: to raise and support armies in time of actual war; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer period than two years.

To provide and maintain a navy in time of war.

To make rules for the government of the land and naval forces.

To provide for organizing and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed under their authority; and to appoint over them, when so employed, or select from among them, the General, Brigade, and Regimental Staff officers: and to appoint and commission, for the existing war, all other officers in command thereof, of higher grade than the commandants of companies: reserving to the Colonial Governments respectively, the appointment at other times of all their militia officers, and in time of war, of all officers of militia whose appointment is not hereby vested in the Congress of Liberia.

Sec. 13. The Congress shall have power to make treaties with the several African tribes and to prescribe rules for regulating the commerce between Liberia and such tribes: but they shall enter into no treaty or alliance, nor ascertain and assess the sums and expenses necessary to the common defence, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the public credit, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land and sea forces to be raised, without the assent of two-thirds of the members present.

Sec. 14. Congress shall have power to render uniform the tariff of duties on foreign imports into the territory of Liberia; but, in doing so, shall give no preference to one port thereof over another; and all such duties shall be collected by, and paid into the treasuries of the respective Colonies under the authority of their respective Legislative Councils.

Sec. 15. Congress shall impose no duty on the exports of any Colony, nor shall any Colony impose any duty on the entry or

transportation of the produce or manufactures of any other Colony arriving in the same.

Sec. 16. The Congress may establish a communication by post, between the several Colonies and fix the rate of postage, but the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the treasuries of the several Colonies in which the same may be collected, and the officers required to sustain such communication, shall be appointed under the authority of the Colonial Legislatures, in such mode as they may respectively prescribe, and be paid such compensation as their respective Colonial Legislatures may provide out of the proceeds of the postage.

ARTICLE III. *Of the Executive Power.*

Sec. 1. The supreme Executive power of the Government of Liberia shall be vested in the Governor of the Colony of Monrovia, whose title shall be "President of Liberia and Governor of Monrovia," and in a council to consist of the several Colonial Governors or a majority of them. The President shall, if empowered, perform the duties of Agent of the United States of America for the reception of recaptured Africans, provided that, if any other person shall be appointed to such agency, he may, also, be a member of the Executive Council with a right to debate, but not to vote on any question.

Sec. 2. During the recess of the Congress all vacancies in the several offices created and filled by them shall be filled on the nomination of the President with the advice and consent of the Council, if present—if absent, by the President alone; and all such officers, so appointed, shall hold their offices until the expiration of the ensuing session of Congress.

Sec. 3. The President shall be, ex-officio commander in chief of the Land and Naval forces of Liberia, and of such portion of the militia as may be called into the service thereof. He shall receive his appointment from the American Colonization Society and shall be removable at their pleasure.

Sec. 4. The Executive power of the Colonies of Cape Palmas and Bassa Cove shall be vested in a Governor and such councilors, and inferior officers and agents, as the constitutions adopted for these Colonies by their respective Societies, may provide.

ARTICLE IV. *Of the Judicial Power.*

Sec. 1. The Judicial Power of the Government of Liberia shall be vested in a Supreme Court, to consist of the President of Liberia and the Governors of the several Colonies, and in such other Courts as the Congress may establish by law; and shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution of Government, and the treaties and laws made in conformity therewith; to all cases in which controversies shall arise between citizens of other nations, or between such citizens and the colonists; to all cases in which controversies may exist between the Colonies themselves, and to all cases wherein the rights or privileges of any minister, diplomatic agent, or representative of any of the African tribes may be involved.

Sec. 2. In all cases between the Colonies themselves, or which

may threaten to disturb the peaceful relations between Liberia and other nations, or the several African tribes, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases it shall have appellate jurisdiction only.

Sec. 3. The decisions of the Supreme Court shall be conclusive evidence of the construction of the Constitution, treaties, and laws, and with the treaties and acts of the Congress shall have paramount authority to the acts of the several Colonial Legislatures and the decisions of their Courts; from the latter an appeal may be taken whenever those decisions involve the construction of any treaty, act of Congress, or prior decision of the Supreme Court of Liberia.

ARTICLE V.

Sec. 1. The assent of all the parties thereto, shall be necessary to any amendments of this Constitution; and the American Colonization Society shall have power to provide the mode of ascertaining and proclaiming such assent to any future amendment.

The citizens of the several Colonies shall be entitled in every Colony to all the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizens of such Colony.

No order of nobility, nor hereditary political distinction of any sort shall be admitted in any Colony. No law shall be passed abridging the liberty of speech or of the press, nor any preference be given to one religious creed, institution, or denomination, over any other; but every person shall be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

No law shall be passed to prevent the people from peaceably assembling to petition for a redress of grievances; nor shall any religious test be enacted as a qualification for office.

The property of no person shall be taken for public use, without just compensation; and in all criminal cases the trial by jury shall be preserved inviolate.

The writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended except in time of actual invasion or insurrection, and the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

The Committee further report the following Resolutions?

Resolved, That no Auxiliary of the American Colonization Society, unless with the consent of the Parent Society, shall hereafter acquire territory on the western coast of Africa, or plant any settlement or Colony there, or in an interior direction due east from the ocean, any where between the Galinas river and the territory of Kroo Settra, except within the declared boundary of a Colony already planted.

Resolved, That effectual means be promptly taken by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to purchase the territory on the western coast of Africa, not yet purchased by any American Colonization Society, between Cape Palmas to the south, and the territory of the British Colony at Sierra Leone to the north.

Resolved, That a code of laws for Liberia be formed by a joint committee to be appointed by the American Colonization Society, the associated Societies of Pennsylvania and New York, and the Maryland State Society,

should they concur in the ratification of the proposed Constitution of Liberia; which code, when supervised by the said Societies and approved by the American Colonization Society, shall be promulgated, under the sanction thereof, and shall be subject to no repeal, alteration, or amendment, by the Congress of Liberia or the Legislative Council of any Colony, without the concurrence of the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That each Auxiliary and State Society shall make quarterly reports to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society of their proceedings and of their receipts and disbursements. And that while the Parent Society extends its efforts to aid the resources thereof throughout the Union, the several State and Auxiliary Societies who have undertaken to plant and maintain particular Colonies in Africa, shall pay over to the Treasurer of the Parent Society ten per cent. of the sums which they may respectively collect; excepting all such sums as may be granted by the several Legislatures, or by individuals under an express condition inconsistent therewith.

REPORT OF DR. SKINNER.

Dr. SKINNER returned from Liberia in a debilitated state of health in the brig Luna, which arrived at New York in November last, but remained with his family on Long Island till January, when, being convalescent, he visited Washington, and at a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society on the 17th of that month, made the following Report :

To the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.

GENTLEMEN :

I submit to you the following Report of the State of the Colony under your charge, since the commencement of my administration as your Agent.

On my arrival in the Colony on the 12th of August, 1835, I found the inhabitants in a high state of political agitation, in consequence of a Proclamation issued by N. Brander, the then Vice-Agent, postponing the election of the Colonial Officers four months later than the time fixed in the Constitution. This difficulty was adjusted by a revocation of that Proclamation. Since which time, there has been a uniform disposition in the citizens to submit to the Constitution and laws of the Colony, without the least manifestation of that mutinous temper which was exhibited by some of the inhabitants of Monrovia during the administration of Mr. Pinney.

The industry of the Colonists is evidently on the increase, and their attention has of late been especially turned towards Agriculture. There appears to be a general conviction resting on the minds of the people that they must raise their own provisions, and not be dependent either on the Natives or Foreigners for the necessaries of life. Several of the Colonists have, during the past season, raised corn and rice in considerable quantities, and some are beginning to cultivate the Cotton Plant and Sugar Cane, while others are preparing extensive Coffee Plantations.

The Colony is in a good measure supplied with Common Schools. Only three additional ones are needed, and one of them will be supplied by the Ladies of Philadelphia, as soon as a

Teacher can be obtained, and another by the Ladies of New York. Our Teachers are generally deficient in the knowledge of English grammar, three only of the present Teachers being qualified to teach this necessary branch of learning. We hope soon to receive well-qualified Teachers through the exertions of the Associations forming in New York and elsewhere in the United States, for the accomplishment of this and other objects involving interests of the first importance, not only to the Colony of Liberia, but generally to the dark and benighted inhabitants of Africa.

Much may be done to render our Settlements more healthy than they are at present, without incurring any great expense. Monrovia, for instance, is capable of great improvement in this respect. If we can rely on the united testimony of East-India writers, the draining of two swamps, which might be accomplished for two hundred dollars, would greatly improve the healthiness of that town. I shall, however, pursue this subject no further at present; as I contemplate shortly to lay before the public an Account of the Diseases of the African Climate, their causes and consequences, and the proper treatment for them, with such directions as experience has proved to be useful, in respect to the diet and exercise of Emigrants, which may enable them to escape sickness altogether, or at least to allay its violence: and to connect with this subject, a View of the Soil, Climate, &c. of the different portions of the Colony.

In conformity with a request made to me by your Board soon after my temporary appointment to the Agency of your Colony, I have been heretofore prevented by a variety of causes, from answering the Statistical Inquiries made by Gerrit Smith, Esq. at the annual meeting of your Society in the year 1834. I will now give you all the information I possess on the subject.

I find the whole number of Emigrants sent out to the Colony since its settlement, is 3,223, and that the present number of inhabitants in the several settlements, is as follows, viz:

Monrovia, - - - - -	868	Brought over, - - - - -	2301
Caldwell, - - - - -	438	The whole of an importation sent	
Millsburg, - - - - -	222	from Baltimore, were afterwards	
New Georgia, - - - - -	375	removed to Cape Palmas, -	100
Edina, - - - - -	215	Removed to Sierra Leone, about	150
Marshall, - - - - -	142	Settled amongst the Natives, about	100
Little Bassa, - - - - -	41	Returned to the U. States, say	100
Grand Cape Mount, - - - - -	50		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2301		2,801

These 2801 deducted from 3,223, the whole number of Emigrants sent from the U. States, leaves a deficiency of 422. The number of births in the Colony, if it could be ascertained, added to 422, would show the number of deaths; but, as no record of these has been kept, certainty on this point cannot be ascertained. The mortality has, however, been less than it has been generally estimated, and greatly less than took place in the colonization of this country.

What proportion of the original Emigrants to Africa were free in this country, and what proportion were manumitted for the purpose

of emigration, cannot be precisely stated. It is believed that at least one-half of the number were of the latter description.

We have in the Colony 168 Orphans—116 of them in Monrovia, and 35 in Caldwell. Most of them were born in the Colony, and such as were not, are the children of deceased emigrants. Many of these children are put out to places where they are badly fed and worse clothed. An Asylum for their support would be a humane and highly beneficial establishment.

Mr. Smith inquires how many of the Colonists are worth ten thousand dollars? I answer, there are not more than two, in my opinion, worth that sum, and not more than five who are worth five thousand. The people in the Colony are generally poor. Many of them were sent out without any thing of consequence; and others who had a little property have been obliged to expend it in consequence of sickness after the expiration of the six months in which they drew rations from the Society. Being acclimated in Receptacles, they were prevented from cultivating any ground. When Emigrants are at once placed on their land, this disadvantage is obviated.

Owing either to the sickness or negligence of my predecessors in the Agency, a large proportion of the Emigrants entitled to land, had not drawn it. Many who had drawn town lots, had not drawn farm land; and the towns of Caldwell and New Georgia had been laid out into town lots on farm land previously drawn, whilst the original title was unextinguished, and the original drawer left without his farm land. One-half of the Colonists entitled to land, were without their farm land, and many without town lots; and some who had drawn and built on town lots, had not a title to them. I made it a prime object to remove these difficulties, and to furnish Emigrants as they arrived with town lots, on which they might immediately begin to cultivate their own soil, and farm lands as soon as necessary to keep them employed. To accomplish this purpose, I spent several weeks in surveying and laying out farms in the woods and swamps; and by various exchanges, extinguished the original deeds in the towns of Caldwell and New Georgia, and have laid out one hundred and sixteen farms for the New Georgians. In descending the river in the night, whilst engaged in this work, I took the fever, of which I have had a number of severe attacks.

I visited New Georgia a few days before I left the Colony, and was pleased to see the increased energy with which they had cultivated their lands, and the luxuriant crops of corn, cassada, rice and potatoes, with which their ground was covered, which, but a few months before, was impassable to man. The sight was an ample compensation for all my toils, and all my sufferings. It is believed by those who are well able to judge, that these industrious citizens, in the past season, have raised four times the crops that they have obtained in any previous year.

But few of the natives have been civilized. I have known but five instances. Two of these are professors of religion.

The amount of our Exports cannot be exactly ascertained. Our Imports may; but the particular articles of each, cannot. My departure being somewhat sudden, I had not time to obtain the necessary

information on this point; but requested Mr. Williams, the Vice-Agent, to collect the particulars, and to forward them by the first opportunity that might offer.

Our Tariff duties have amounted to from fourteen to eighteen hundred dollars a year. They do not average more than four per cent. on the goods imported. The duties for the past year have been between eighteen and nineteen hundred dollars.

EZEKIEL SKINNER.

HIGHLY INTERESTING FACTS.

[Philadelphia, February 6th, 1837.]

The meeting advertised on Saturday having attracted my attention, I was induced to visit the Sansom Street Church last evening, and have rarely been so deeply interested, as by the simple and touching statements of Dr. Skinner, late Governor and Surgeon General of Liberia, whose great respectability and intimate knowledge of the concerns of the Colony, entitle him to much attention. I was the more gratified by the very satisfactory condition in which he appears to have left the colonies; when I contrasted it with the distorted and prejudiced pictures sometimes drawn by persons evidently ignorant of the real state of these interesting settlements, or manifestly hostile to them.

Dr. Skinner drew a vivid sketch of the scenes of misery he had witnessed wherever the horrors of the slave trade still exist. These he added had formerly prevailed at all the portions of the coast now occupied by the Liberian colonies, but that wherever they had been planted, this nefarious traffic had ceased, and with it most of its concomitant evils. The lights of humanity and religion were now gradually pervading the surrounding tribes, and one of the facts he related was alike new and pleasing—that of a total cessation of the human sacrifices so common before the colonies were planted. Bob Gray, one of the principal chiefs at Bassa Cove, having informed Dr. S. that he had frequently sacrificed victims under a tree still standing at Edina, and celebrated as the “Devil’s Bush;” but since his intercourse with the colonists he had ceased to observe these savage rites. Now a Christian Church is proposed, and will soon be erected beneath the branches of that very tree! The affections of the natives have in many instances been won by the devoted labours of the missionaries, one of whom is now in the interior, where he has acquired the Bassa language; has invented an alphabet, to reduce it for the first time to writing, and is now engaged in compiling a spelling book and dictionary, preparatory to the introduction of schools into that district. It appears that these disinterested labours are winning their way to the confidence and hearts of the natives, and that, by steady perseverance and increase of effort, Dr. Skinner looks for the rapid spread of civilization and religion in that land of brooding pagan darkness. He gave a highly interesting account of the moral statistics of Liberia; his intimate acquaintance with the people, enabling him to assert that the state of morals and religion would compare most favorably with any similar number of the inhabitants of this country, either white or black, nearly one-fourth of the whole population being orderly professors of religion, who occupy 14 churches of various denominations. In reference to the prospects of benefiting the coloured race by the system of colonization, he incidentally made the highly gratifying statement that, out of the whole amount of emigrants sent by the American Colonization Society, (3300 in number,) only 733 had been lost by death or otherwise: this including not only those who had perished in the conflicts with the natives, and the hardships endured by the early settlers, as well as in the process of acclimation, but all the subsequent mortality from disease, accident or shipwreck, and those who have gone into the interior and Sierra Leone, or returned to America. This presents a most favorable result, when contrasted with the early settlers in this country—even the most fortunate—and infinitely more favorable than the early efforts at Jamestown, where the royal bounty was so lavishly expended.

Connected with the salutary influence of the colonists upon the surrounding heathen, were many pleasing incidents and arguments well calculated to strengthen the confidence of the friends of this good cause. Dr. Skinner deemed the objec-

tion so frequently urged—"that the means were entirely inadequate to effect the great end contemplated,"—as utterly gratuitous; for, said he, so soon as Africa shall be rendered the comfortable and prosperous home of the black man, that it is rapidly becoming, then, without burdening the Colonization Societies with applications for outfits and passage to their settlements, the colonists will find the means of reaching those happy shores, at their own proper charge, as the emigrants to this country from Europe now do.

The foregoing rough sketch is not intended as a report of the address, but merely to present to your readers a few of the facts adduced in favor of the benign system, of which each candid auditor must have entertained more exalted ideas at the close of the discourse, whatever might have been his previous views, under the persuasion that God was about to overrule, through his instrumentality, the miseries of a long oppressed people, for the promotion of human happiness and his own glory.

X. Y. Z.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On the sixth of February, Mr. MORRIS having presented to the Senate a petition from Abolitionists in Ohio and having moved that it be received, read and referred, with instructions to the committee to report on various points which he specified, a discussion arose, in which the propriety of any interference on the part of Congress with slavery in the District of Columbia became a prominent topic. In the course of the debate, a marked difference of opinion on the general subject was manifested by two distinguished Senators from the South, though they concurred in denying the authority of Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the District.

Mr. RIVES said he had witnessed the whole course of this discussion with great pain and mortification. He did not say which side was to blame, but he could not help observing that gentlemen from non-slaveholding States stood in a very different position from their Southern brethren. They might sit with great coolness, and indulge all the delicacy of their feelings with impunity. They had no cause to be disturbed in relation to their own communities; but when they came on that floor, and gratuitously put forth their notions on a subject which so deeply concerned others, he contended that they were aggressors, and that gentlemen on the other side were acting on the defensive. To present a petition, if respectful in its language, was a duty which Senators were bound to perform; but when, not satisfied with this, they came forward and volunteered their own views on so hazardous and delicate a subject, and claimed for this Government new powers, the calculation must be extraordinary on the passiveness of the South, if gentlemen supposed they were to sit in silence.

[Mr. RIVES here animadverted on some remarks which had fallen from Mr. WEBSTER, and referred to a decision of the Senate, by a vote of 36 to 6, that the subject of Slavery in the District was not to be contested on that floor.]

Mr. R. had no objection that Senators should present their petitions, but he protested against the gratuitous exhibition of those horrid pictures of misery which had no existence. He was not in favor of slavery in the abstract. On that point he differed with the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CALHOUN.) But it was an existing institution; it was recognised and protected by the Constitution; and he was at a loss to conceive why, on a subject of this character, honorable Senators would permit themselves to throw firebrands into that Chamber. The only pacificating course was that which had been proposed, which was, to lay the question of reception on the table. And gentlemen might be assured that, as often as these petitions were presented, the preliminary question of reception would be moved, and that motion, with its appendages, would as often, he hoped, be laid on the table. Was the miserable farce of receiving these petitions, and then immediately rejecting them, a thing worth contending for? Surely not.

Mr. R. strongly disclaimed all desire to excite jealousy or ill feeling, but reminded Northern gentlemen of the very different circumstances in which they stood towards this subject. They might stir it with perfect safety to their constituents, and possibly with benefit to themselves. But it never could be mooted on that floor without exciting the profoundest feeling throughout the South. He begged gentlemen to desist from such a course. He used the language of expostulation, not of menace, although he felt that a proud consciousness of Southern rights might well warrant him in the use of other language. He appealed to the patriotism of the Senator from Massachusetts. He had on other occasions, and especially in defence of that very Union which is now again threatened, given proofs of it. Mr. R. did not doubt or call it in question. But he appealed to that feeling, and besought that Senator, and all others, to let this subject alone—not to invade the peace of the firesides of their brethren, and not to persist in a course which Southern men could view in no other light than as an aggression upon their dearest interests. When petitions were brought forward, the only proper course was that which had been pursued on his own motion last year, and which had now been renewed in so honorable and peace-loving a spirit by the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CALHOUN explained, and denied having expressed any opinion in regard to slavery in the abstract. He had merely stated what was a matter of fact, that it was an inevitable law of society that one portion of the community depended upon the labor of another portion, over which it must unavoidably exercise control. He had not spoken of slavery in the abstract, but of slavery as existing where two races of men of different colour, and striking dissimilarity in conformation, habits, and a thousand other particulars, were placed in immediate juxtaposition. Here the existence of slavery was a good to both. Did not the Senator from Virginia consider it as a good?

Mr. RIVES said, no. He viewed it as a misfortune and an evil in all circumstances, though, in some, it might be the lesser evil.

Mr. CALHOUN insisted on the opposite opinion, and declared it as his conviction that, in point of fact, the Central African race (he did not speak of the North or the East of Africa, but of its central regions) had never existed in so comfortable, so respectable, or so civilized a condition as that which it now enjoyed in the Southern States. The population doubled in the same ratio with that of the whites—a proof of ease and plenty; while, with respect to civilization, it nearly kept pace with that of the owners; and as to the effect upon the whites, would it be affirmed that they were inferior to others, that they were less patriotic, less intelligent, less humane, less brave than where slavery did not exist? He was not aware that any inferiority was pretended. Both races, therefore, appeared to thrive under the practical operation of this institution. The experiment was in progress, but had not been completed. The world had not seen modern society go through the entire process, and he claimed that its judgment should be postponed for another ten years. The social experiment was going on both at the North and the South—in the one with almost a pure and unlimited democracy, and in the other with a mixed race. Thus far, the results of the experiment had been in favor of the South. Southern society had been far less agitated, and he would venture to predict that its condition would prove by far the most secure, and by far the most favorable to the preservation of liberty. In fact, the defence of human liberty against the aggressions of despotic power had been always the most efficient in States where domestic slavery was found to prevail. He did not admit it to be an evil. Not at all. It was a good—a great good. On that point, the Senator from Virginia and himself were directly at issue.

Mr. RIVES said he had no disposition to get up a family quarrel on a theoretic question between those who were practically agreed. It was certainly very remarkable that the Senator from South Carolina should take him to task for representing him as defending slavery in the abstract, when every word he had since uttered went directly to prove that such was his opinion. Every remark he had made tended to that, and to nothing else. There they differed. Though he (Mr. R.) came from a slaveholding State, he did not believe slavery to be a good, either moral, political, or economical; and if it depended on him, and there were any means of effecting it, he would not hesitate to terminate that co-existence of the two races to which the Senator from South Carolina had alluded, and out of which the present state of things had grown. Yet none had therefore reason to doubt that he should defend the rights growing out of the relations of slavery to the uttermost. No interference with that relation could be attempted without great and

abiding mischief; and, if such attempts were persisted in, they must and would inevitably lead to the rupture of those ties which now bound the States in happy union. Great as might be the evil, no remedy for it had been found; and if any were to be devised, it must proceed from those only who suffer the evil; nor would the Constitution tolerate the remotest interference by others. When such interference should be forcibly attempted, Mr. R. was prepared to throw himself into the breach, and to perish in the last ditch in defence of the constitutional rights of the South. But he was not on this account going back to the exploded dogmas of Sir Robert Filmer, in order to vindicate the institution of slavery in the abstract.

Mr. CALHOUN complained of having been misrepresented. He again denied having pronounced slavery in the abstract a good. All he had said of it referred to existing circumstances: to slavery as a practical, not as an abstract thing. It was a good where a civilized race and a race of a different description were brought together. Wherever civilization existed, death too was found, and luxury: but did he hold that death and luxury were good in themselves? He believed slavery was good, where the two races co-existed. The gentleman from Virginia held it an evil. Yet he would defend it. Surely if it was an evil, moral, social, and political, the Senator as a wise and virtuous man was bound to exert himself to put it down. This position, that it was a moral evil, was the very root of the whole system of operations against it. That was the spring and the well-head from which all these streams of abolition proceeded—the effects of which so deeply agitated the honorable Senator.

Mr. C. again adverted to the successful results of the experiments thus far, and insisted that the slaveholders of the South had nothing in the case to lament or to lay to their conscience. He utterly denied that his doctrines had any thing to do with the tenets of Sir Robert Filmer, which he abhorred. So far from holding the dogmas of that writer, he had been the known and open advocate of freedom from the beginning. Nor was there any thing in the doctrines he held in the slightest degree inconsistent with the highest and purest principles of freedom.

Mr. WEBSTER then made some remarks, to which Mr. RIVES replied, and thus proceeded:

I must now (said Mr. R.) address a few observations to the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. CALHOUN) in regard to the controversy he has thought fit to get up with me in regard to the merits of the institution of slavery. I may say, sir, without fear of contradiction, that no Senator has exhibited a more determined spirit to resist any interference with the subject of slavery than I have done. I deny wholly the power of this Government to act, in any manner whatever, on the subject, either here or in the States. I have been constantly ready to take the highest ground which has been proposed by any Senator here for repelling this interference, by voting at once not to receive the petitions. But, sir, while I have been thus prepared and determined to defend the constitutional rights and vital interests of the South at every hazard, I have not felt myself bound to conform my understanding and conscience to the standard of faith that has recently been set up by some gentlemen in regard to the general question of slavery. I have not considered it a part of my duty, as a representative from the South, to deny, as has been done by this new school, the natural freedom and equality of man; to contend that slavery is a positive good; that it is inseparable from the condition of man; that it must exist, in some form or other, in every political community; and that it is even an essential ingredient in republican government. No, sir; I have not thought it necessary, in order to defend the rights and the institutions of the South, to attack the great principles which lie at the foundation of our political system, and to revert to the dogmas of Sir Robert Filmer, exploded a century and a half ago by the immortal works of Sidney and Locke.

This is a philosophy to which I have not yet become a convert. It is sufficient for me to know that domestic slavery, whether an evil or not, was an institution existing at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; that it is recognised and sanctified by that solemn instrument; that there is no right in this Government, or in the other States, under any pretext whatever, to interfere with it: that, in regard to the slave-holding States themselves, it was entailed upon them by a foreign and unnatural jurisdiction, in opposition to their own wishes and remonstrances; that there is now no remedy for it, within the reach of any human agency, and, if there were, it must be originated and applied by those only who feel the evil; and that any interference with it by this Government, or the other States,

would, in violating the most sacred guaranties of the Constitution, rend the Union itself asunder. In pursuing this course, I have the satisfaction of reflecting that I follow the example of the greatest men and the purest patriots who have illustrated the annals of our country—of the fathers of the Republic itself. It never entered into their minds, while laying the foundations of this great and glorious fabric of free Government, to contend that domestic slavery was a *positive good*—a *great good*. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, the brightest names of my own State, are known to have lamented the existence of slavery as a misfortune and an evil to the country, and their thoughts were often anxiously, however unavailingly exercised in devising some scheme of safe and practical relief, proceeding always, however, from the States which suffered the evil. Mr. Jefferson's writings, from the "Notes on Virginia" to the latest emanations of his great and patriotic mind, are full of the testimony he has borne on this question, in the most impressive language.

In following such lights as these, I feel that I sin against no principle of republicanism, against no safeguard of Southern rights and Southern policy, when I frankly say, in answer to the interrogatory of the gentleman from South Carolina, that I do regard slavery as an evil—an evil not uncompensated, I know, by collateral effects of high value on the social and intellectual character of my countrymen; but still, in the eye of religion, philanthropy, and reason, an evil. But, evil as it may be, it is now indissolubly interwoven with the whole frame of our society; and, if remedy there be for it, that remedy can come from the hand of Omnipotence only. In the mean time, it is inviolably protected by the sanctuary of the Constitution itself, and no attempt can be made to disturb it without aiming a parricidal blow at that instrument, which forms alike the security of the rights and liberties of the whole nation. In occupying ground like this, I feel that I rest on solid and tangible principles, the force and justice of which every mind must acknowledge. On the contrary, by putting the defence of Southern rights on the abstract merits of slavery, as a *positive good*, as a natural and inevitable law of society, you shock the generous sentiments of human nature, you go counter to the common sense of mankind, you outrage the spirit of the age, and alarm the minds, even of the most liberal and patriotic among our fellow citizens of the other States, for those great fundamental truths on which our common political institutions repose. Unfavorable revolutions, only, in the public sentiment, can be expected from bold abstractions of this kind; and nothing, I verily believe, has given so strong an impulse to the cause of the abolitionist as the obsolete and revolting theory of human rights and human society, by which, of late, the institution of domestic slavery has been sustained and justified by some of its advocates in a portion of the South. Sir, the true line of principle and policy is to stand upon the solemn guaranties of the Constitution, the impregnable position of our acknowledged and indisputable rights; and, in the name of those rights, and of the peace and harmony of the Union, I now call upon the patriotism of the Senate to apply the only quietus the subject admits, by laying the motion to receive these memorials on the table.

AFRICAN DISCOVERIES.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

The Asiatic Journal for January contains some account of the exploring expedition recently undertaken by Dr. Smith and others from Cape Town, South Africa, into the interior of the Continent. It appears that the expedition penetrated almost as far as the tropic, found a very healthy climate, and returned in excellent condition, with an immense variety of drawings and specimens of natural history. The artist who furnished the zoological part of the collection, is said to have set out on this hazardous adventure in a state of health which hardly allowed a hope of his being able to reach the frontier of the colony, and to have returned a strong, robust, and healthy man. In the words of Sir John Herschell, he was "a living and thriving proof of the salubrity of the country traversed." This is an important fact in reference to African colonization. And yet colonizationists are charged with inhumanity in wishing to remove so many of our free coloured people as are disposed to emigrate, from a country where they scarcely increase at all, and from cities where 1 in every 27 of them dies annually, to the fine and healthy countries in the land of their fathers. Dr. Smith is about to set out on a new expedition into the interior, with a view to further more extensive researches.

RELIGION AMONG THE SLAVES.

[From the *New York Commercial Advertiser*.]

The Rev. Dr. Palmer, of Charleston, (S. C.) stated Sabbath before last, in the course of a sermon, that there were five hundred coloured members of his own church in Charleston, in good standing.— [We have before us the minutes of several annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from which it appears, that at present, that body has under its charge 182,296 coloured members. Of this number 71,181 reside in slave states—a great portion of whom are slaves. It is a fact perhaps not generally known in the northern states that many masters are anxious to have their slaves brought under the influence of the gospel; and for this purpose they have built places of worship, and support the missionaries that are sent to their plantations.]

COLOURED PEOPLE OF BOSTON.

From the Report of the Rev. R. Spaulding, to the Boston Auxiliary of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Coloured Race; embodied in the annual Report of the Auxiliary.

In the discharge of the duties imposed upon me, I have visited every family of coloured persons in the city. That I might be assured that none were omitted, I have made diligent and patient inquiries through every street and lane within its limits. I have left no opportunity unimproved, to obtain the most perfect knowledge of their character and circumstances that I have been able. I have visited and conversed with them as their *friend*, without reference to any question with which our country has, unfortunately, been so painfully agitated. In my inquiries among them, I have never once introduced the subject of "*Abolition*," or "*Colonization*." My reason for this course, you must perceive and approve. With these questions your society does not necessarily interfere; your object being, not to *excite* them upon questions foreign to them, and over which they can have no control; but to awaken in them an enlightened desire for improvement, and to afford them such assistance as you may be able, in the attainment of that object.

I am happy to know, that the object of my agency has commended itself to the judgment and feelings of the more intelligent portion of them, many of whom feel a commendable interest in the improvement of their race, although they see but little prospect of an event so desirable. Another class of them is almost entirely indifferent to the subject, having abandoned nearly all hope of such an improvement, until public sentiment and feeling shall have materially changed towards them. While the third class look upon every effort that is made in their behalf, except through the medium of "*abolitionism*," as dictated only by duplicity and a desire for their utter extermination. Many of this class are exceedingly superstitious and degraded, and truly the objects of our compassion.

When we have convinced them that we are interested in their behalf, and that they may *confide* in our friendship, an important point will be gained. We have then to convince them that they have within themselves the elements of respectability, the materials of

their own fortune; that sobriety, industry and economy will insure them the respect of all from whom respect is desirable. But as it now is, many of them have seemed to lose sight of this point, and are looking forward in expectation of some ideal good yet to come, as the fruit of the abolition excitement. They frequently speak of what their *friends* are doing for them by these means, and many of them could hardly be persuaded that any man could be the true friend of the coloured man, who is not what is technically called, an "*abolitionist*."

By the late census it appears that the entire coloured population of the city is 1757, making a decrease within the last five years of 118. The number visited by me, living by themselves in families, is, 1310; which, taken from the whole number, will leave 447 for those at service in white families. Of the latter, I have not, of course, taken any individual account. The above 1310 may be classed as follows:

Married Persons, - - - -	398	Girls under 10 years, - - -	194
Widowers, - - - - -	26	Girls over 10 and under 21 years, -	105
Widows, - - - - -	123	Girls 21 years and over having pa-	
Single Men, - - - - -	104	rents, - - - - -	32
Single Women, - - - - -	53	Children who can read, - - -	169
Men connected with churches, -	91	Children attending schools, - -	272
Women, " " " " - - -	166	Children attending Sunday schools, -	238
Boys under 10 years of age, - -	164	Children connected with churches, -	8
Boys over 10 and under twenty-		Boys learning mechanical trades, -	3
one years, - - - - -	111		

But few of the parents can read, and, of the children reported as able to read, and as attending schools and Sunday Schools, some discount must be made for irregular attendance, though in most instances they were reported as attending regularly.

A majority of all classes of them attend public worship very irregularly, though this habit might easily be corrected, were proper measures adopted for this purpose. One cause, however, of this irregularity, undoubtedly is, the want of suitable places of worship among themselves, of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter.

It will be seen above, that, of the 111 boys between the age of 10 and 21, but *three* are learning any mechanical trades; though I have found *twenty* at least, whose parents or guardians would be glad to find places for them; and of the 105 girls within the same ages, nearly the same number.

In most instances, when I have introduced this subject to them, they have expressed not only a willingness, but a *desire* to avail themselves of such privileges as might be afforded them and their children; though the manner in which they have been treated in this respect, renders them exceedingly incredulous, as might reasonably be expected. Because no such advantages have been allowed them heretofore, they are not easily persuaded that they can be obtained for them now.

The facilities now afforded them by the city authorities for the education of their children are by no means ordinary, though perhaps not fully adequate to their wants. There is a respectable grammar school, under a competent teacher, exclusively for coloured children

and youths; also two primary schools; all kept in the brick building erected for that purpose the past year in Belknap street.

The primary school formerly kept in Robinson's Alley, has recently been discontinued for want of such attendance as would, in the judgment of the school committee, justify its expenses. The number of children in the northern part of the city who would be embraced in the primary school department, is about 35. These must now attend in Belknap street, or remain at home, unless some other provision be made for them.

Besides the above, there are two or three private schools for children, of a temporary character.

Among other inquiries, I have ascertained the occupations of every man reported by me above. That you may have every important item of intelligence respecting them before you, to aid you in preparing your report, I present the following table :

Mariners, - - - - -	171	Carpenter, - - - - -	1
Laborers, - - - - -	112	Whitewasher, - - - - -	1
Barbers, (exclusive of apprentices,) - - -	32	Whitesmith, - - - - -	1
Keepers of clothing shops, &c. - - -	23	Shoemaker, - - - - -	1
Waiters or tenders, - - - - -	25	Blacking Maker, - - - - -	1
Cartmen, - - - - -	8	Painter, - - - - -	1
Tailors, - - - - -	6	Paper hanger, - - - - -	1
Keepers of Boarding houses, - - -	5	Soap Boiler, - - - - -	1
Boot Polishers, - - - - -	4	Measurer, - - - - -	1
Blacksmiths, - - - - -	3	Cobler, - - - - -	1
Ordained preachers, - - - - -	2	Chimney sweep, - - - - -	1
Stevedores, - - - - -	2	Servants not at service, - - - - -	7
Victuallers, - - - - -	2		

The above are as reported to me, and I presume they are nearly, if not perfectly correct.

Before I close this report, I beg leave to call your attention to another subject which I conceive to be inseparably connected with the moral improvement of the coloured population of Boston. I refer to their want of another, or a more commodious place of worship.

It is known to the few who feel interested in these matters, and doubtless to yourselves, that for their religious instruction, there are two regular churches supplied by coloured ministers of approved character in the denominations with which they are connected. One of the Churches is situated in Belknap street, and is connected with the Calvinist Baptists.—This house is of respectable dimensions, sufficiently so for the congregation.

The other church is situated in May street, and is connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is under the pastoral care of Mr. Samuel Snowden. This is a small brick building, 25 feet by 40; the basement of which is occupied as a dwelling, and the upper part as a church. It will seat about two hundred and fifty persons, and I am credibly informed is uniformly filled every Sabbath with attentive worshippers, and on afternoons and evenings, when they are more at liberty to attend meetings, it is filled to overflowing, so that many are obliged to retire for want of room.

It is the deliberate opinion of those who have the best means of knowing, that were the place more commodious, some two or three

hundred more, at least, would regularly assemble to receive religious instruction, who now remain at home because the place cannot receive them. As it now is, the congregation cannot possibly increase, but must remain stationary, until a more commodious house shall have been provided for them. A majority of them are *poor*, and would consequently be able, at best, to do but little towards the erection of a better one. They must therefore depend upon the liberality of an intelligent public to afford them the requisite aid.

The friends of the Coloured People will be glad to learn, that, since this report was presented, the house in May street has been considerably enlarged, and is now probably, adequate to the wants of the people. [ED. OF BOSTON RECORDER.]

THE NEGRO'S FRIEND.

[From the Boston Recorder.]

Who is he? At the South, we have men who are tired of slavery, for themselves, and afraid of it for their children. They sell out, therefore, slaves and all, and seek a residence in the free States. We admit their right to reside among freemen, if they choose; but, certainly, upon their plan, there will be not one slave the less, nor freeman the more, on that account.

We have others, at the South who are also tired of the difficulties, unknown but by experience, of managing slaves. They liberate their own; they pity others; and, they go to Ohio. This may be disapprobation of slavery; it may be fear of insurrection; it may be prudence, worldly policy, self-love or love of children; but, it is no evidence of regard for the slave. If his misery grieves you, why not remain where your sympathy may cheer, and your influence relieve it? Because he is unhappy, will you forsake him? A slave mother, in despair of relieving her famished son, is said to have removed "a good way off, as it were a bow shot from him; for she said, let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lifted up her voice and wept." There was genuine compassion.—But is it a like compassion which prompts you to remove a good way off, as if it were a thousand miles, to improve your fortunes, whilst the slave is left—

To shed his tears alone?

At the North there are excellent men who also pity the poor slave. "They lament for him, saying ah, my brother!" And they urge his immediate emancipation. For the interest they take in him, the slave is bound to thank them; but in his name, as well as in his master's, I inform them that "the time has not come." You say they ought to be *immediately* emancipated; and you can prove it. Well you prove it; but, verily, with a considerable acquaintance in the Southern States, the writer thinks it is not so near proved, as it was before you began. Where are your converts? Have any of the rulers or masters of the slaves believed in you? Probably, not one; and other converts are of no value to your ultimate object. At the South, it is matter of fact, that public sentiment is, universally, against immediate emancipation; and it is matter of opinion, that another third of the cen-

tury and another generation of slaves must pass away, before public sentiment can be any thing else.

In the mean time, *what shall be done for this generation?* They need the gospel. In several of the slaveholding states, and in large portions of all these states, they are not, generally, without it. Where there are gospel ordinances, *on the Sabbath day*, for the master, there are the same for the servant. And of the two classes, the servants may have the most religion; simple indeed, but genuine. The pride of birth, of fortune, of intellect, of station, is less in their way, and hence the proportion of real converts is probably greater. The moral character too, of the whole race, will bear comparison with that of the laboring poor, either in the old world or the new. To say that we have two millions of heathen among us, is a mistake. They are not heathen. Very far from it. Still, they need the gospel.

Intellectually they are greatly behind the age, and yet not greatly, I believe not at all, behind their own class of people in other parts of Christendom. In point of information, on all subjects, they are equal to the peasantry of a part of Ireland, of Italy, of Spain and Portugal, and even of Germany, not to speak of Russia. They are better informed than the mass of the ancient Jews, Greeks, or Romans in their best days; and they are infinitely better people. Why say the inhabitants of Africa, speaking of our negro colonists, "America man know every thing"? Still, they are greatly behind the age in which they live, and need to be improved.

As to their physical condition, generally, the correct statement may be as follows. Slaves are well treated,

1. Where they are owned in small numbers of from one to twenty or thirty, including all ages. Throughout the whole slaveholding country, embracing thirteen states, slaves are largely owned; perhaps one third of all we have are owned in small families under thirty.—In the District of Columbia, in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, probably a half, or two thirds, are thus owned. In such families there will usually be no overseer. The master, if a farmer, works with his servants, and all fare nearly alike.

2. Where an overseer is employed, but the number of working hands is small, say under ten, the overseer works with them, and all work and fare nearly alike.

When the overseer is a man of piety, humane, sober, respectable, and skilled in government, as is often the case.

4. Where the master or mistress, and especially where both possess the qualities just mentioned, the overseer is carefully selected. He is restrained from cruelty, and probably from correction. The wants of the servants are supplied, and the liveliest interest is taken in their welfare. John Randolph, of Roanoke, would be delayed a week from Congress, that he might "distribute [winter] clothing to his slaves with his own hands." "He said they could not be placed in a better condition than they then enjoyed, and that he would give five hundred pounds to know how they could be kept in as good a condition after his death." (Testimony of Mr. Richard Randolph, Jr., in "The Randolph Will case.") A second gentleman who hires out about

twenty servants, requires by written contract so much clothing, so much food, in which is specified "meat twice a day," &c. A *third*, whose servants formerly used one or two barrels of whiskey every year, now, with their own consent, pays them its value in money.—A *fourth* makes a gratuity to his servants of 50 cents per month, for pocket money. A *fifth* assigns to such servants as choose to accept it, a lot of ground, which they are to cultivate for themselves. When they choose to make tobacco it is sent to market for them, and the proceeds paid over. A gentleman, happening to step into a store at the time, saw a servant receive \$100 in cash, for his crops. A *sixth*, of much note in the sporting world, says that any of his slaves may go to a free state, if they think they can better their condition and wish it. Some gentleman in New York endeavoured to persuade one of his family to leave his master. The servant laughed at them. Several of these individual cases represent large classes of slaveholders. Besides all which, it is common to provide each slave family with a separate cabin, and a garden attached. Here they have their vegetables, their pigs, their poultry, &c., in addition to their regular allowance. Here they live comfortably, have no care, and often more clear money than their master. But I will not enlarge.

5. Where the great southern staples, tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar are not cultivated, or only in small quantities.

6. But where there is an extensive cultivation of these staples; where slaves are owned in large numbers; and where overseers are employed; still the character of the master or of the overseer may secure good treatment. Besides, where a master is severe, he is not so at all times, nor to all alike. Home servants, servants inherited, and especially those who were esteemed by the parents of their present owners, or were their nurses, or their companions in childhood, old persons, young children, and all others who are active, honest, obedient, careful and agreeable, are sure of good treatment, generally. Even a negro trader, so employed for many years, told a clergyman on his death-bed, that he had always made it a rule, in selling slaves, to put them in as good a condition as he found them. His brother, a trader for nine years, lately professed to practise upon the same rule. The trade admits of no such rule; but certainly hard masters, and overseers, like passionate parents, or schoolmasters, are not always, nor indiscriminately so. It is published, as an axiom, that "absolute slavery never fails to harden the heart." *Avarice* hardens the heart; *all indulged sin* hardens it; and not less in the free states than elsewhere. But that slavery has that effect, is a question of fact, and the writer's observation does not sustain it.

7. Where religion flourishes, slaves are well treated. This above all. Wherever there is a stated weekly ministry, intelligent, pious, faithful, and successful, so that the community are brought under the influence of religion, there the slaves are elevated, both in character and condition. They are informed, and improved, *directly*, by the instructions of the minister, and *indirectly* also, by the same influence upon the master and his family. A revival of religion, in a southern congregation, is truly a reviving in their bondage, to the slaves. A fair proportion of them will certainly become its subjects, and they,

and all their brethren are, in every way, blessed by it. Nor are they cypfers at such a season. Their simple piety reaches the young master, and the misses of the family, and even their parents. It is expressed delightfully, in many and peculiar ways, and is felt throughout the congregation. They who have heard an assembly of black people singing a favorite hymn to Old Hundred, or Mear, or perhaps Watts' 65th, 2d Book, "When I can read my title clear" to Pisgah, will not soon forget it. Especially, if you were returning from a night meeting, in the country; if you saw the glare of a dozen light-wood torches, moving through the forest before you, and so deepening the surrounding gloom that you saw only that; and if, as you came up, you heard the strong, manly and melodious voices of a score or two of blacks, men and women, swelling out upon Nettleton's 385th or 439th; if you could see and hear these people, in such circumstances, you would not say they were heathen. Your first impression would probably be that they were among the best and happiest people you ever saw. And, as to some of them, you would not be much mistaken.

But the statement I am now supporting is, that where religion flourishes, the servants are well treated, improved and elevated in every way. Let the truth as it is in Jesus, be steadily preached, *on every Sabbath day*, throughout the Southern country, and let all the ordinances of the church be regularly and successfully administered, and "the negro's friend" will have accomplished almost every desirable object. Bring the whole people, white and black, under the power of the gospel, *and every thing will come right*. The evils of slavery will cease, and slavery itself will cease, if so it ought, and *cease in the right way too, with the consent of all concerned, and without violence or injury to any one*.

But how far has this object been attained? The writer is a Presbyterian, and can best speak of Presbyterian ministrations. That these, as at present enjoyed, are not sufficient for the ends described, will appear from the following official statement, in regard to the Presbytery of Fayetteville, N. C., which may, pretty correctly, represent our southern Presbyteries generally. In that Presbytery there are 47 churches, which are supplied with the preached word, by 16 ministers, as follows, viz:

Two, every Sabbath.

Five, every second Sabbath.

Fifteen, every third Sabbath.

Sixteen, every fourth Sabbath.

Five, every fifth Sabbath.

Four, every fourth Saturday.

The parishes of these ministers are from 100 to 500 square miles in extent; and, of course, if one were ever so desirous of visiting his people generally, he would find it impossible.

The reason of this state of things is, that the population is sparse, and the people in moderate circumstances. Consequently, several neighborhoods must unite, in order to support a pastor. The families will own, or employ, from one to twenty servants, including children. A few have more. But the servants do not help to support the gos-

pel, nor do they always help the master to do it. Yet they occupy the ground, and extend the limits of the congregation. To ask the whites only to subscribe, is to ask but one in five or ten of the population; and not more than \$100 will be obtained, before you will have gone as far from the centre, as it will be convenient to travel on the Sabbath day. Another point must be selected, some ten or fifteen miles from the first, and a congregation formed there, and another \$100 made up. It will require four of these to support a pastor, and these four will cover a space equal to four, five or six hundred square miles. Suppose a minister should plant himself in the centre, and determine to spend himself in his work. Can he visit all these people? Can he spend a night in each family, in order to address and pray with the servants, when, with their master at their head, they return from their daily employments? Impossible. He must neglect both masters and servants, and leave both to suffer, but especially the servants, for want of more religion in the family. In many parts the pastoral charge will be thus extensive because there are two or more denominations upon the same field. But frequently that explanation cannot be admitted. The country is not supplied, and cannot be, until ministerial charges are contracted, and the servants receive their full share of ministerial labor. Let "the negro's friend" contribute to this object, and he will be a friend indeed.

The plan of sending missionaries to the coloured people, avowedly and separately, has been tried. Young brethren, under strong missionary impulses, are frequently exercised about such labor, and distressed that a door does not open, or that they do not seem to possess humility and self-denial enough to enter it. The writer is *perfectly satisfied* that they are called to no such work. It is not the way. For the south, we want *pastors, and the same pastor for white and black*. The servant's minister must be the master's minister. *Ungodly* servants will despise a missionary who comes as "the negro preacher." It is a fact that they ridicule him. He must be their *master's equal*, and respected by their master, if they respect him. And, further, in his plans, for their improvement, he must not only include, but he must *begin with, the whites*. The blacks he had better overlook for a while. Let him secure a decided reformation among the whites.—Let the profane and stormy wickedness of the master, or of the young master, or of the overseer, be seen to yield, and to give place to gentleness and prayer, and he is sure of the servants. He has their gratitude, their profound respect, their entire confidence, their heart's best love. He can mould them as he pleases.

For a long time the writer has been thinking on this subject, and wishing to present it to those who desire to meliorate the condition of the blacks. He has been told that there was too much excitement; he would be misunderstood, &c. But having been born at the South, and lived and preached for many years, among masters and servants, he has a right to speak, and to expect that he will not be misunderstood. And, besides, it is time to act. A writer in the New York Observer of June 25, 1836, says, "There is a strong sympathy with the African race. It can hardly be restrained by sober judgment, and a regard to the principles of common justice. It seeks

to find channels in which its exuberant compassion may flow forth." This is correctly stated. Here is disclosed the hidden fountain, in the souls of good men, both in New and in Old England, which feeds Abolitionism in all its forms. We cannot dry it up. We would not if we could. We would open new channels for this "exuberant compassion," and let it freely flow, until every southern neighborhood should have its minister, and every master and every slave should have felt the power of the gospel. If abolitionism will take this course, it may bless the slave, and the southern country, *without fear of mistake or failure*. But should it continue calling for an immediate jubilee, blowing its trumpet, and laboring to excite the people, the present and perhaps the next generation of blacks will be injured beyond repair. *Christian* masters, and all benevolent and upright men, will endeavor to discharge their duty, as heretofore. Their hands are nearly tied, indeed, but still they will try to do what they think right. But there are multitudes who fear not God, nor regard man. What, think you, will be the effect on them? For the south we entertain no fear—not the least. During the Southampton massacre, the gentlemen of a village, ten miles off, collected all their blacks into a public square, and informed them that their brethren of Southampton had risen, and were slaying all before them, and now, "Take your choice, join them or join us, just which you please." So now, we fear not the blacks; I speak for many; I think, for the country generally; but we do fear *for* them. And we entreat "the negro's friend," if he would do any thing in their behalf, to send them the gospel, upon the plan indicated in this paper. *Pay their proportion of the pastor's salary, say \$100 per year, and they shall have the pastor's services.* This will be a blessing that maketh rich, and, unlike some other plans, *addeth no sorrow therewith*.

The Rev. Dr. Peters, of New York, or the Rev. Dr. McDowell, of Philadelphia, agents for Home Missions, will take pleasure in executing any trust committed to them, in behalf of the blacks.

The writer acts for a Committee of Missions, composed of clerical and lay brethren, in behalf of the Presbytery above named; and could he have had a meeting of that Committee, he would have asked leave to subscribe this paper officially. As that cannot conveniently be accomplished, and as a publication on this subject and of this nature seems to require a name, he offers his address.

JAMES W. DOUGLASS,
Fayetteville, North Carolina.

VIRGINIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE, }
Petersburg, Feb. 14, 1837. }

The Rev. C. W. Andrews, Agent for the Virginia Colonization Society, delivered a pithy and concise address to the Conference in behalf of the object of his agency.

On motion of John Early,

Resolved, That we unanimously recommend to the people of our communion, the cause of the American Colonization Society, and especially the "New Plantation" proposed to be established by the Virginia Colonization Society, on the coast of Africa to be called New Virginia.'

Resolved, That every member of this Conference be required to preach in behalf of the Colonization Society, on some Sabbath near the 4th of July next, and take up a collection, and forward the amount to Benjamin Brand, Esq. Treasurer of the Colonization Society of Virginia, Richmond.

A true copy.

JOHN EARLY, *Secretary*.

COLONIZATION MEETING IN TRENTON, NEW JERSEY.

On the 6th of last month a public meeting was held to promote the interests of the Colonization Society, in Trenton, New Jersey, and remarks made by Messrs. Wynkoop, of the Princeton Seminary, Professors Breckinridge and Alexander, Capt. R. F. Stockton, Stacy G. Potts, Esq. and Col. Porter, of Easton ; to all of whom the audience listened with great interest and delight.

The main object of the meeting (says the Trenton Gazette) was to operate generally upon public sentiment; and an application made to the society by several negro families in Monmouth and Middlesex to be taken to Liberia, seemed to render it peculiarly proper to attempt to awaken interest in this subject in a community which have too long neglected it. The Commercial Herald of Philadelphia, in copying the speech of Capt. Stockton, observes—

"The thrilling incident detailed towards the close of the speech, is calculated to impress all with admiration of the moral courage that could on the instant, conceive and execute such a daring conception. An early navigator made use of the Eclipse to alarm the natives of the West Indies into terms, and Capt. S. appears to have appealed to the sun for a similar purpose. Such actions mark MEN, and although easy to talk of when done, are not so easy to conceive and execute, when existence is compressed into a minute. A friend has promised us a more detailed account of the scene, drawn from one of the party who accompanied the Captain, which, when received, we shall be glad to lay before our readers. Instances of American heroism are always gratifying, especially when transpiring in the cause of benevolence, and we would here remark, that Virginia—not with her usual nobleness—has generally monopolized the credit of sustaining the early efforts of Colonization, when in fact, New Jersey deserves as much if not more praise ; for we believe Messurado would never have been obtained, but for a Jerseyman's courage and tact, and it was reserved for American prowess to achieve that possession which had been the desire of other countries, and the subject of their treaties for a century."

The following speech of Capt. Stockton will be read with interest.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—The chances of doing good but seldom occur, whilst those for mischief happen every day ; "as we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men." It was late when I heard of this meeting, and though ten miles distant from this place, much engaged in business, I did, with accustomed selfishness, leave it, for the pleasure of being present on this occasion, not indeed to participate in the exercises, because I had not a moment for preparation or reflection, but solely for the gratification which I have enjoyed, of hearing others discourse on this great subject of christian benevolence. I should certainly have resisted any personal application to address you, but called upon in the most delicate manner, by my reverend and noble friend, seconded by the unanimous wish of such an assembly as this, no consideration of personal convenience, or fastidious delicacy, could prevent me from complying, to the best of my ability, with your request.

Before I proceed, however, to that part of the history of the Colonization Society, which I judge was the particular object of the resolution just passed, I will take leave to say a few words as to the great principle and objects of that institution, partly because they are not generally understood, and partly because I desire that there may be no mistake as to my opinions concerning that important matter. The great principle upon which this Society is founded, is "UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE," OR THE DESIRE TO PROMOTE THE REAL HAPPINESS OF MAN. I do not doubt that you understand and appreciate this great principle, nor do I think it necessary to invoke your aid in its defence; still I will venture a remark or two on the subject, not to enlighten or instruct, but rather for the purpose of reviving the recollection of things long known and well understood.

Christian benevolence is a fundamental principle in ethics, if not the great principle upon which all morals rest, and is in my humble judgment and experience the surest foundation of national prosperity and individual happiness. If I were called upon to select the happiest man in the world, I would select the most benevolent man, and in the triumph of this great principle, I would produce the happiest man. Who is there that has read the history of nations, and contemplated the character and actions of the most renowned kings, or the ambitious schemes of the most artful demagogues, that does not turn with disgust from the insatiate avarice, the unintermitted wrong, and the fanatical cruelty of the first—the heartless insincerity, the mean superciliousness, and unprincipled selfishness of the latter. Who does not love benevolence more than ambition; who is there of any experience that would not prefer to follow the dictates of an enlightened benevolence, by which social life is preserved or adorned, and the true happiness of man secured, to the aspirations of political ambition, which fill the mind with visionary projects, earnest hopes, desperate efforts and sad disappointments;—who would not rather walk in the humble paths of the benevolent Howard, than follow Napoleon in the selfish eccentricities of his ambition. For myself, I would greatly prefer the well-earned reputation of this noble philanthropist, to having worn the imperial purple of the "Emperor of the French," "King of Italy," and "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine."

Mr. Chairman, there appears to be some difference of opinion amongst our countrymen, as to the objects of the Colonization Society. At the North, they are accused of riveting still closer and stronger the chains of the southern slave, by sending the free people of colour to Africa. At the South, they are suspected of acting in harmony with the abolitionists. I cannot, sir, admit either of these to be its great purpose; nor can I consent that the real objects of that magnificent scheme shall be obscured even for a moment, by the mere consideration of what is best and most comfortable for the African in this country, (be he bond, or free,) whom God, in his inscrutable wisdom, has placed amongst us. These are matters undoubtedly worthy of regard and attention, but they are secondary to the main object, or more properly, the means; and must sink into comparative worthlessness, when we consider the real objects of the Society, and contemplate her extended benevolence and holy purposes. Its object, is not to liberate the slave in this country, who is comparatively blessed and happy; that is a matter which is in other hands, and with which they have nothing to do, and about which they feel no responsibility. But, sir, they do hope, through the instrumentality of that Society, and by means of the coloured people in this country, to liberate fifty millions of souls from the most appalling rites of the bloodiest superstition, and make them free indeed, and likewise to introduce amongst them the blessings of civilization and free government. It is not merely to find a more comfortable residence for the free people of colour; it is to endeavour to secure an eternal residence in heaven, for the wicked, wretched, degraded African. I do not look upon the African in this country as a mere slave; I see him an apprentice brought from a land of superstition and despotism, to learn the principles of religion and liberty; I see in him a person schooled for the benefit of his country, and the improvement of his species, and whose business and glory it will be to regenerate his native land. We have no more to do with the motives that induced the white man to bring him to this continent, than we have with the motives of Judas Iscariot for betraying our Saviour. I place them both to the economy of God's government, and whilst I am amazed, and grieved at the events themselves, I rejoice that the results will benefit mankind.

Viewing them in the condition of sufferers in the cause of civil and religious liberty, with the high and lofty purpose of redeeming the land of their fathers from the miseries of barbarism, are they not a favoured people? Compare their hard-

ships with the sufferings of the early martyrs in the cause of christianity, or with the dangers and privations of the pioneers in the cause of civil liberty in any age or country—compare their condition with the unhappy fate of the gallant and desperate Indian.—O, sir, when we remember that there is not one drop of blood in mortal veins that once fed the lion hearts of Philip and Logan, and that they suffered and died to no apparent purpose, can we hesitate to pronounce that the slave's condition, with his high hopes, is more enviable. With what enthusiasm of joy would these brave chiefs have hugged their chains, and endured an eternity of bondage, to have saved their race from annihilation. In this view of the subject, is it not cause for regret, if not wonder, that there should be a christian, or a man, who will not aid this, of all others, the noblest benevolence of modern days; nevertheless, there are persons who do oppose and vilify. The abolitionist appears to be the most conspicuous and most scurrilous in his opposition, but that society receives so little encouragement from our community, that his invectives might be disregarded, had he not placed himself with blasphemous intrusions between the African and his God. He declares that all men are equal, and in chase of that political fiction, disregards the actual condition of the human race, their wants and necessities, and their relation to their Maker. He exaggerates the degraded condition of the slave; his scanty food and raiment; his scars and stripes, till he becomes quite insensible to every conception, save that of animal feeling, and temporary convenience; and in his maniac zeal, is willing to sacrifice the souls of fifty millions of Africans, and to deluge his own country with blood.

Not content with the extermination of the Indians—he is preparing the negro for the same process. Can any one doubt, if the abolitionist succeeds, that the negro will share the fate of the Indian, and both be exterminated. I do not deny the evils of slavery, nor am I insensible to the hardships of the slave, more than I am to the unhappy fate of the Indian.

But whilst our duty in behalf of the latter is environed by awful and mysterious darkness, in relation to the former, we have the cloud by day and the fire by night, to instruct and guide us.

We have been truly told of various instances, in which the protection of God has been vouchsafed to that Society; could these all have been the effect of obscure chance? No thinking person, I conceive, can doubt that there are marks of design in them—and he that cannot discover in them the glorious hand of the Ruler of the Universe, has much to learn and pray for. Yes, sir, we rest upon our faith in God; He is with us—and the abolitionist will in vain interfere with the councils of the Almighty.

To give another evidence of God's protective kindness to the cause of Colonization in Africa, and to comply with your request, I will now proceed to the narrative of what occurred during the negotiation with the natives, for the present Colony of Liberia.

The first attempt made by the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States on the coast of Africa, failed principally from two causes; the treachery of the natives, and the injudiciousness of their first location. After the death of many of the first emigrants, it was found necessary, in order to save the others, that it should be abandoned and the survivors taken to Sierra Leone, where they received from Sir Charles M'Carty, the Governor, the most friendly and hospitable treatment.

In this condition of the Society's affairs, the U. S. schooner Alligator was ordered to the coast of Africa, with instructions to her Commander to visit the Colony; and in conjunction with Dr. Ayres, their recently appointed Agent, to do whatever might seem best for the cause of humanity and the safety and comfort of the Colony; to select a more eligible site for them, or to return them to the U. States.—The schooner having arrived at Sierra Leone, Dr. Ayres, who had reached there a short time previously from the United States, came on board. After hearing the melancholy catastrophe which had attended the attempt to settle on the island of Sherbro, and the judicious temporary arrangements that had been made for the survivors in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone, it was resolved to proceed immediately down the coast, for the purpose of selecting the most eligible place to re-establish the Colony. Cape Mesurado was selected, and notwithstanding the difficulties and disappointments which have attended the various negotiations, for the last hundred years, to secure that spot, it was determined forthwith to make the effort. The intercourse of that people with the European nations in carrying on the slave trade, had made them somewhat familiar with the Christian character,

and they had been by the slave dealers led to understand that the objects of all such Colonies were to put an end to the slave trade, which had for many years been their principal business, and through which they received those luxuries, which they supposed could not be obtained by any other means. On the arrival of the vessel at the Capes, a messenger was sent to the king. The next day he came to the shore to hold a PALAVER, and to ascertain the object of the visit. It was explained to him; he gave his assent, and promised his protection, and that on the day following he would sign the treaty. But after he had received all the presents that were taken on shore for him, he thought proper to treat the present negotiation as he had all former ones. He returned unexpectedly, and contrary to his promise, to his town, and refused to have any thing more to do with the matter. The Agent, Dr. Ayres, and Mr. Nicholson, the carpenter of the vessel, both citizens of New Jersey, agreed to go with their Commander to the town of the King, and insist upon the performance of his engagements, or the return of the presents.

They had a long and dreary walk through a wilderness, accessible only by the blind path they were treading, guided by two "Kroomen." On their arrival at the town, they were received with civility, and conducted immediately to the Palaver House, in which there was a platform, on which the King sat on all great occasions.

Whilst the King and his head men were preparing for the Palaver, these gentlemen ingratiated themselves with the people, by distributing among them various presents. The King finally arrived, with a great number of persons in his train; he received the officers with kindness and some address, and ascended his throne. The Commander followed and seated himself beside the King, with his two companions near to him. The King had two good interpreters, who seemed to be very proper men, and well disposed. The negotiation was renewed by professions of good will on both sides, and proceeded with mutual satisfaction. The King believed that the settlement proposed would not directly interfere with the slave trade, or deprive them of their accustomed European supplies; and he pledged himself as a King, in the presence of his people and the great spirit,* that he would on the next day hold a Palaver on the sea shore and sign the treaty.

At this moment, an English mulatto, who was supposed to be friendly, but who had not been before seen, walked into the assembly, and declared to the King, that what had been said to him was false; that the object of the white man was to destroy their trade, and entirely to cut off their commerce. In proof of which, he said, that the very vessel now lying in the Bay, and these men now before you had captured a few months ago, two French vessels coming with presents and for trade, and took them to their own country. In one instant, this immense multitude, who had been previously seated on the ground, sprung to their feet, and uttered a cry of revenge and war that can never be forgotten by those who heard it.

These officers looked round, in vain, for help. All, all appeared to be lost—as far as it depended upon human means. They determined, however, to die like christians and men; and whilst with one hand, the life of the King was put in jeopardy, with the other, was made the last appeal to high heaven in behalf of Africa. And as they cast their eyes above, from this small clearing in the wilderness, they saw the clear blue sky, and the same sun that was then shining upon their beloved families and friends. Yes, there was the God of their Pilgrim Fathers—the same God who had watched over and protected their happy country—and who guided their own adventurous footsteps into the present peril. There was he, in all the glory of his omniscience, and all the splendor of his power.

The appeal was heard—and this countless band of fierce barbarians fell prostrate to the earth, amazed at this grand spectacle of man's faith and God's power.

The next day the treaty was signed—and soon thereafter the settlement was commenced, under the superintendence of Dr. Ayres.

The following account of the Anniversary Meeting of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania is from the National Gazette of February 23d.

MEETING OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—The anniversary meeting of last evening, at the Central Church, was decidedly among the most interesting ever

* These people worship the sun.

held in this city: the speeches of Messrs. Skinner and Pinney, both *ex-Governors* of Liberia, were intensely so. They did not deal in mere abstract arguments.— They poured forth a world of *facts* in relation to the African settlement, which, occurring under their own immediate notice, appeared to excite the deepest interest, and certainly ought to have convinced every listener. If I before entertained any doubts, they were scattered to the winds; and as the Society failed, for want of time to call up their numerous friends who were pledged for the occasion, they adjourned to the Fifth Presbyterian Church, Arch above Tenth, to Friday (to-morrow) evening, the 24th inst., when it is to be hoped that the interest so manifestly felt will be sustained—especially as many hundred slaves anxious to emigrate are now gratuitously offered by benevolent owners to the Society, provided they can extend to them the benefits of colonization. Who will give \$50 to secure the freedom of one? May I venture to say, that the response will be joyfully returned in the affirmative by

MANY.

SELIM BALLAH.

The Rev. Wm. McKenney, late agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, at the late annual meeting of the Virginia Conference Missionary Society, made an affecting appeal in behalf of the African Mission.

In the course of his remarks, says a writer in the Virginia Conference Sentinel, he narrated one of the most thrilling incidents which perhaps was ever given to an American audience upon this subject. As no published account has been heretofore given of many of the incidents, connected with the visit of SELIM BALLAH, a native African, to this country, it may serve the cause of missions, to notice them more in detail here, though with no view of being able to do justice to the very happy manner of Mr. McKenney. Selim Ballah, whose christian name is William, was the head man or chief warrior of King Freeman, one of the most powerful, sagacious, and artful Kings in all the region of the coast of Africa. Of this King the Maryland Colonization Society purchased a part of the territory on the coast of Africa, now called Maryland in Liberia. This purchase was effected at a very dear rate, according to King Freeman's estimate of such matters, though in truth on very reasonable terms. The first condition he made in his terms of sale was twenty puncheons of Rum. This condition, however, was firmly resisted by the Agents of the Society, and King Freeman was not only induced to abandon it on the ground that the Society could not traffic in so ruinous an article, but was prevailed on to discontinue the use of it among his people. The value of this article was fully made up in things more serviceable to the King and his people, and the purchase effected. It was obvious, however, that the King had been induced in his own mind to make this sale of his territory, with the hope of aggrandizing his kingdom from the superior wealth and intelligence of the colonists. But it was not long before feelings of a different character began to mingle with his reflections, and give direction to his purposes. The superior intelligence of the colonists, which first inspired him with a desire to make them his neighbors, from a view to his own profit, began now to assume a different aspect, and inspire him with a fear that all this appearance of honesty and benevolence on the part of the colonists, might only be with the ultimate view of supplanting him in his Kingdom. The anxiety of his mind, under these corroding reflections, may well be imagined. He sought with great care to know the truth as to the reasons of the colonization enterprise, and the real object in seeking to be neighbors to him. *Why come so far?* was a question full of interest to him. He listened with attention to every explanation of this matter that could be given. He heard with peculiar interest the accounts of America. The wisdom and power of the nation, the splendor of their buildings and improvements in general, and above all the kindness of the people in sending back the Africans to the land of their fathers, whom the African Kings had wickedly sold to the more wicked white men of those times. These relations affected the King sensibly, but could not quiet his alarm, and only subjected his mind to still more painful alternations of hope and fear. In this state of mind communing freely on one occasion with his chief minister, he said to him, "BALLAH, 'pose you go to 'Merica; you got my eyes—you got my

mouth—you got my ears. You see—you peak—you hear for me, you come back, tell me. What you see, I see—what you peak, I peak—what you hear, I hear. Den, all these things we hear be true, we be all 'Mericans—have 'Merica book, and all be good like dem." To this, according to BALLAH's own account of it to Mr. M., he said, "I go." His particular friends, and especially, his wives—of whom he had three—vehemently beset him to relinquish his purpose for fear of being murdered in America. To them he replied, "I go if I die." Accordingly he sailed from Cape Palmas on the coast of Africa, in one of the ships returning to this country, and arrived in Baltimore in the early part of the spring of 1836. Mr. M. being at that time agent for the Maryland Colonization Society, extended to him the hospitality of his house, for the purpose of imparting fully the information for which his King had sent him. Mr. M. described him to be physically among the finest specimens of man—large, full and just proportions of body—free, open and intelligent countenance, with a quick penetrating eye. He spoke in broken English—receiving ideas with great rapidity, and making such improvement as indicated the presence of a very superior order of intellect. The first sight of the City of Baltimore was confounding, and when he viewed it from the top of the Washington Monument, he was overwhelmed with emotion and exclaimed, "man no make all dis, God make him." He fully satisfied himself on all the points of information for which he had visited this country, especially the kindness of the friends of colonization, in seeking to return the Africans of this country to their father land, and the benefit the colonists would be in imparting the blessings of civilization and religion to the King and his people. His impressions on receiving the first correct ideas of God and of the revelation of himself to man, in what he called the white man's book, were remarkably natural and striking. Mr. M. describes it as follows:—

He said to me, "Missa Wilson, (meaning the Rev. Mr. Wilson of the Presbyterian Church, resident missionary in the colony) give me one book," at the same time handing me a paper in the form of a letter, which upon opening I found to be a testimonial of Selim Ballah's character, standing and influence in his own country, highly honorable to his intelligence, and anxiety to promote the welfare of the colony—on returning this paper I said—"that be one very good book. Missa Wilson be one very good man—what he say be all true, and all men love you because Missa Wilson say you be good man. But I have one great book better den dat—my God give me dis book, (pointing to my family Bible,) my God be great God. He make African man—America man. He make de sun—de moon—de stars. He make dat great sea you pass over in coming to 'Merica." His attention while I was thus striving in his own broken English to make a just impression on his mind of the majesty and power of God, was intense—which may be inferred from the following remarks. He said—"hah! your God peak to you in dat book!! let me hear him peak." I then read a few verses in the New Testament, and to accommodate the meaning to his apprehension, said—now listen—my God say to me—pose you be good man—you no steal—you no lie—you no cheat—you no kill—you no go to Devil Bush—when your body die—your soul, de man in de body, fly up high—above de moon—de stars, de sun, and go into a great city, high palaces, and never die again. He lib forever. He listened with an interest deep and profound, and at last made an exclamation which cannot be reduced to language, but which showed most clearly that the whole subject was new to him—after which he asked this pertinent question; "Why he no send Africa man dat book too?"

Mr. M. then explained to him that God had given it to their forefathers, but that in consequence of their great wickedness, had taken it from them, but that now he was sending it to them again. To which he replied, "all dat be very good—very good." Since the return of Selim Ballah, his King has written a letter to the President and Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, expressing his gratification at the information received from his head man, saying 'that my eyes, my ears, my tongue was there, and that it was the same as if he had been there himself,' that he was pleased with the book they had sent him, (a code of laws adapted to his situation,) and was willing to conform to all they had recommended. So that the visit of Selim promises great good to the native Africans, and the whole showed most clearly, their readiness to adopt the religion and habits of civilized life, and that this open door in the providence of God, needed only to be entered by the Missionary, to cause the tribes of Africa to arise from the night of Pagan darkness and take their seats among the nations of the earth.

The President now proposed to be one of 50 to give \$10 each. This proposi-

tion was responded to with great cheerfulness, to the amount of 60. Mr. Plumer now announced a proposition from a lady of the congregation to be one of 50 to give \$5 each, which was responded to in the same handsome style. The baskets were then handed around, to "gather up the fragments, that nothing might be lost," and it was found that the nett proceeds of the meeting amounted to FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND FIVE DOLLARS AND SEVENTY-TWO CENTS.

What was still more interesting to a devout mind and worthy to be noticed here, was the very solemn and pious character of the meeting throughout. There was a strong indication of contemplative interest, in the countenance of every hearer, and a vein of deep and prayerful feeling pervading the assembly.—This meeting, held at the time it was, and in the presence of so many strangers, cannot fail to give a new impulse to the spirit of Missionary enterprise within the bounds of our Conference.

Richmond, February 28, 1837.

EXPEDITION TO LIBERIA.

We have heretofore omitted to notice the sailing of the Brig *Rondout*, Capt. Howland, for Liberia. She left Wilmington, on the 30th of December last, with thirtyfour emigrants, among whom were William Taylor, a young coloured physician who has received his medical education at Washington under the care of the Board, and the emancipated slaves of Dr. SHUMAN of North Carolina, whose case was noticed in Vol. 12, p. 317 of this Journal, and in Vol. 13, p. 4. It was expected that Louis Sheridan and his connexions, (*see African Repository*, Vol. 13, p. 4,) about 40 in number, would have been among the emigrants of this Expedition; but, much to the regret and disappointment of the Managers, it was found that the vessel chartered was too small for the accommodation and conveyance of their property. They were thereupon necessarily obliged to defer their departure till another opportunity should offer. This we hope will soon be the case, as Mr. Sheridan is a man of great respectability, intelligence and information, besides being the owner of considerable property, and would on every account be a most important accession to the Colony.

Dr. David Francis Bacon sailed in the *Rondout*, as principal Colonial Physician.

LIBERIA.

Extract of a letter from a Colonist, received by the Rev. Wm. F. Broadus, dated
BASSA COVE, September 21, 1836.

We are surrounded by an opposing people, to whom we believe God intends by us to send the gospel. They are beginning to inquire why God makes such a difference between them and the Americans, and whether they cannot become like the Americans; which furnishes to my mind the evidence that the work will be done, though I should not live to see it.

Our settlement is quite healthy. *We have not lost a single person*, save those who fell in the massacre at Bassa Cove. We have here houses built, some log, some framed—town lots cleared—streets laid off—a church built, 30 by 24; we have twenty-six or twenty-seven members of the church, of which little flock your servant has the responsible charge. Two have been baptized this year, one who came with us restored, others received by letter, among which are two ministers of the gospel, Crocker and Mylne. They are missionaries, but the seat of their membership is in our church.

I have the honor to remain,

Your affectionate Brother, in labors and in Christian love,

AARON P. DAVIS.

The author of the above letter formerly belonged to Dr. Hawes, of Rappahannock, and was baptized and admitted to the church by the Rev. Mr. Broadus, who had the highest confidence in his Christian character, and rejoices greatly to learn that he is now preaching the gospel in Africa. The number killed in the massacre to which the letter refers, was seventeen, four adults and thirteen children. This letter furnishes additional proof that nothing is to be apprehended from the climate of Africa, by the coloured emigrant, except those, perhaps, from the mountainous parts of Virginia, who settle upon the rivers or low situations upon the coast. X.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Col. Society, from Jan. 25, to Feb. 25, 1837.

Gerrit Smith's Plan of Subscription.

Judge Burnett, Ohio,	\$100
E. F. Backus, Philadelphia,	100
<i>Collections in Churches, &c.</i>	
Dayton, Ohio, in the Church of the Rev. Ethan Allen,	5
Delaware, Rev. Wm. Matchet, Agent,	50
Freehold, N. Jersey, 1st Presbyterian Church, by D. V. McLean,	5 50
Putney, Vermont, Cong. Church, Rev. Amos Foster,	8
<i>Donations.</i>	
Essex County, Va. Alexander Somervail, by Hon. F. Mercer,	14
A Friend, by T. Donoho,	1
New Albany, Indiana, by the Ladies, remitted by Martha Beal,	20
Prince Edward Co. Va. Mrs. Rice,	5
A Friend in Knoxville, by Capt. Holcomb, Lynchburg,	5
<i>Life Subscription.</i>	
Robert Carter Page, Illinois, by Rev. W. M. Atkinson,	30
<i>Auxiliary Societies.</i>	
Rutland, Ohio, Female Society, from Jesse Hubbell,	4
Virginia Col. Society, by B. Brand, Tr'r.	340
Do from Carter Braxton, Richmond,	116
Do Collected at Prince Edward C. House by Rev. R.	
R. Gurley,	123 95
Do Mrs. Lee, for passage, &c. of Negro Paine,	60
	<hr/>
	\$987 45

African Repository.

John Marshall, Fauquier County, Va. per Rev. Geo. Lemmon,	\$2 50
Jno. B. Carr, Jr. Charlottesville, Va. per Hon. Mr. Rives,	12
Nathan Thomas, Clio, S. C. per John B. McDaniel,	2
James D. Johnson, Norfolk, Va.	2
Mrs. W. H. Fitzhugh, Ravensworth,	4
Garriet Meriwether, Oak Grove, Kentucky,	5
Cyrus Williams, Stockbridge, Mass.	8
Rev. Jonathan Fisher, Blue Hill, Me.	2
D. W. Naill and J. Landes, Sam's Creek, Md. \$2 each to Dec. 1837, inclusive,	4
Samuel Fletcher, Concord, N. H.	2
Anson Ashley, Asaph Whittlesey, R. P. Treat, Tallmadge, Ohio, \$5 each, per Hon. Jonathan Sloan,	15
Hon. Jonathan Sloan, Ravenna, Ohio,	6
Rev. John Cannon, New Alexandria, Pa.	2
Lyman Patchin, Bennington, Vt. per Hon. Mr. Hall,	4
Rev. Wm. Matchet, Agent,	5
Christopher Waldrop, Richmond, Va. per B. Brand,	2
Dr. Carr Bowers, Southampton, Va. per Jesse Lankford,	10
Charles S. Cary, Chelsea, Mass.	2

Liberia Herald.

Nicholas Mills, Richmond,	5
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Constitution of the American Colonization Society.

ART. 1. This Society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States."

ART. 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the Free People of Color, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ART. 3. Every Citizen of the United States, who shall have paid to the funds of the Society a sum of not less than thirty dollars, shall be a member for life.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, one or more Secretaries, who shall devote their whole time to the service of the Society; a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Recorder, and nine other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the Society, at their annual meeting, on the first Tuesday after the second Monday in December, and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ART. 5. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society, and to call meetings when he thinks necessary.

ART. 6. The Vice Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge the duties in the absence of the President.

ART. 7. The Secretaries and Treasurer shall execute the business of the Society, under the direction of the Board of Managers, the Treasurer giving such security for the faithful discharge of his duties as the Board may require. The Recorder shall record the proceedings and names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. 8. The Board of Managers shall meet on the fourth Monday in January, every year, and at such other times as they may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies, occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

No officer shall vote on any question in which he is personally interested.

ART. 9. Every Society which shall be founded in the United States to aid in the object of this Association, and which shall co-operate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the Rules and Regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto, and shall be entitled to be represented by its delegates, not exceeding five, in all meetings of the Society.

The African Repository

CAN now be had, from its commencement, on application to the Publisher, or Mr. John Kennedy, Washington City, either bound or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which shall annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to JOSEPH GALES, Sen'r. Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to JAMES C. DUNN, Washington, D. C.

Agents for the African Repository.

Travelling Agents.

Alexander R. Plumley,
Jacob Townsend,
Dr. Ezekiel Skinner,
Jos. S. Walthall,
J. T. Walker,
Wm. B. Cooper.
Rev. Wm. Matchet.

NEW YORK.

David Schenck, *New York City*.
Ebenezer Watson, *Albany*.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia.

Capt. Wm. E. Sherman.

MAINE.

Rev. Asa Cummins, *Portland*,
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MASSACHUSETTS.

Light & Horton,
Oliver Parsons, *Salem*.
Elihu Hobart, *Abington*.

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W. Stebbins, 107 Chapel st. *New Haven*. Rev. H. B. Bascom.

NEW JERSEY.

John Kinney, Jr. *Belvidere*.

VIRGINIA.

Robert Hill, *King William County*
Benjamin Brand, *Richmond*,

MARYLAND. Baltimore,

Samuel Young.

Dr. Ely Ayres,

NORTH CAROLINA.

John C. Ehringhaus, *Elizabeth City*.

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Rev. Wm. Winans, *Centreville*.

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M. M. Campbell, Assistant of E. & B. G. Easton.

Dr. Job Haines, *Dayton*.

KENTUCKY.